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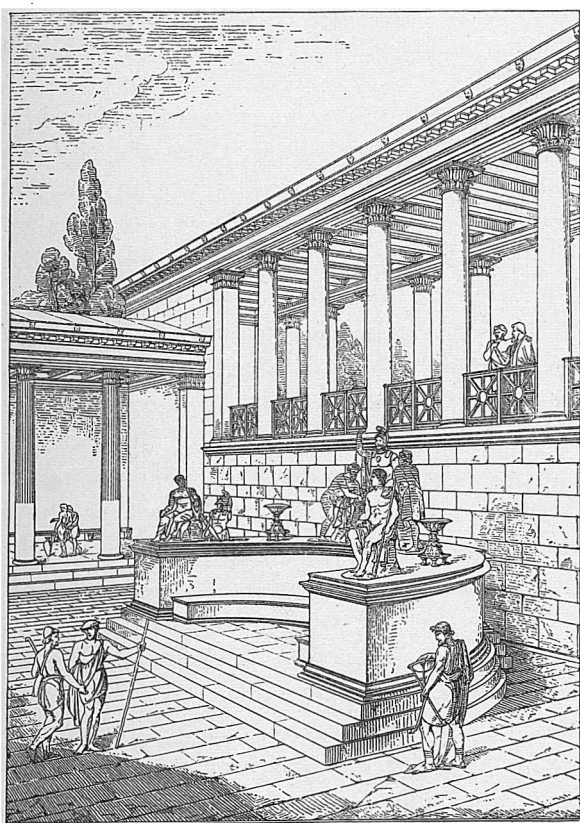
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# THE PERGAMON MARBLES.

## I. — PERGAMON:

### ITS HISTORY AND ITS BUILDINGS.



EXEDRA OF ATTALOS II. AT PERGAMON.

RECONSTRUCTED BY O. RASCHDORFF.

From "Jahrbuch der Königl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen."

THE fourth number of the *Fahrbuch*, or Annual of the Royal Prussian Art Collections, for 1880, contains a series of articles upon the excavations at Pergamon, severally signed by the German engineer, Carl Humann, who initiated the enterprise and directed the excavations; by Dr. Conze, the eminent archæologist, who watched their progress with deep interest; and by Messrs. Bohn, Stiller, Lolling, and Raschdorff, each of whom has special knowledge of the division of the subject of which he treats. The reliable information which they give us makes it possible to understand the historical importance and estimate the artistic value of the recovered objects, and to form an idea of the style and general aspect of the series of colossal reliefs representing the Gigantomachia, or the Battle of the Gods and Giants, which now adorn the sculpture galleries of the Royal Museum at Berlin.

Pergamon, once "the most illustrious of Asiatic cities,"<sup>1</sup> and the capital of a kingdom which in the second century B. C. included nearly all the large provinces of Asiatic Greece, is glorious in history as the bulwark which checked the advance of the barbarian Gauls, and as the seat of science and the arts under

her two greatest monarchs, — Attalos I. and his son, Eumenes II. The great library at Pergamon,<sup>2</sup> founded by the first, and enriched by the second, which rivalled the Alexandrian in value and extent, was but one of many evidences of the high aims and enlightened views entertained by those who ruled the city in a Greek spirit when Greece herself had fallen from her high estate. Telephos, the son of Herakles, was its mythic founder; but despite this semi-divine origin, Pergamon did not begin to attain any importance until the early part of the third century B. C., when Philetairos, a eunuch, son of Boa, courtesan and dancer, who governed it for Lysimachos until his death (281 B. C.), assumed the title of Dynast, and held the reins of

<sup>1</sup> "Longe clarissimum Asiæ Pergamon" Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, V. 31.

<sup>2</sup> It contained 200,000 volumes. Attalos, says Choiseul-Gouffier, "had the noble idea of making the archives of the human mind public property." — *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, Vol. II., Paris, 1809.

power for eighteen years.<sup>1</sup> His nephew, Eumenes I., succeeded him in the year 263 B. C., and at his death in 241 was followed by Attalos I., with whose reign Pergamon entered upon its golden age. At the time of his accession all the great rulers of Asia Minor paid tribute to the Gauls, whose advance threatened their kingdoms with ultimate ruin. From this they were saved by Attalos, who refused to submit to the exactions of the barbarians, and when they attacked him drove them back into Galatia. He then assumed the title of king, and during his long reign (241-197 B. C.) enlarged his dominions until they included most of the countries west of the Halys and north of the Tauros. Antiochos III. (the Great) stripped him of his conquests, but he regained them by the help of Gallic mercenaries, and secured them by an alliance with the Romans against Philip of Macedon. Through their help, his son and successor, Eumenes II. (197-150 B. C.), added Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, Lykaonia, parts of Karia, Lykia, and Thrace, and the Chersonese, to his kingdom, which was subsequently ruled by Attalos II. (159-138 B. C.), and Attalos III. (138-133 B. C.), who left the Roman people his heirs. They did not, however, make it a Roman province until 131 B. C., after they had defeated Aristonikos, the bastard son of Attalos III., who contested their right of sovereignty.

From this hasty sketch it will be seen that the palmy days of Pergamon were included in the reigns of Attalos I. and Eumenes II., a period of about a century, during which the city was embellished with many magnificent edifices, and, thanks to the encouragement given to arts and letters at the court of these monarchs, became, like Athens, a chief seat of culture and learning. Outwardly as well as inwardly it resembled its Greek prototype, for the Akropolis, a hill of about one thousand feet in height, which overlooked the city, commanded a view of a wide-spread plain backed by lofty mountains and watered by the river Kaikos. It had its seaport, Atameos, now Dikeli, situated at a somewhat greater distance than the Peiraios from Athens, but not, like it, connected with the city by walls. Like the Athenian, the Asiatic Akropolis was covered with splendid buildings, which M. Choiseul-Gouffier,<sup>2</sup> who visited it at the beginning of this century, identified as the temples of Athena Nike and Asklepios, the Prytaneion, the Gymnasium, and the Amphitheatre. These conclusions were not altogether correct, as the reader will see by a glance at the plan of the Akropolis, which shows the result of the recent excavations, and the view of the buildings restored, given on a subsequent page. The central edifice is the great altar erected in commemoration of the victories of Attalos over the Gauls; that to the right is the old Doric peripteral temple of Athena Polias, and that to the left, the Augusteum.

In considering these buildings, we are struck with the evidence which they give of the purposes of art in the second century B. C., when they were erected, as contrasted with those to which similar edifices were dedicated in the fifth, when the Parthenon was built. It was consecrated to the protecting goddess of Athens, and, like all the other buildings upon the Akropolis, was a religious monument, while the two most splendid of those which crowned the citadel of Pergamon were raised in honor of earthly sovereigns, Augustus and Attalos,—the first as a symbol of the preponderance of Roman power, the last in commemoration of the triumph of a native monarch over the destroyers of Hellenic civilization, then vainly struggling against foreign foes. In Asia Minor, in Egypt under the Rhamses and the Thoutmes, and in Greece proper under Alexander, art no longer aimed at the religious ideal, but took the form of personal adulation, or, in other words, replaced divine by hero worship. To lower the ideal is to lower art, and hence it is that the later Grecian schools, such as those of Lysippos, of Pergamon, and of Rhodes, are inferior to the Pheidian in all which constitutes the highest art. As this subject belongs more properly to a second article, specially dedicated to the Pergamon marbles, I shall conclude the present paper with the history of the excavations, and a description of the buildings which have been discovered during their prosecution.

<sup>1</sup> All the coins of Pergamon bear the name, and most of them the portrait, of Philetairos, as, for instance, those of Attalos I. and II. An exception is a coin of Eumenes I., which has the head of that king on the obverse, and on the reverse the figure of Pallas seated. See Barclay V. Head's *Guide to select Greek and Roman Coins in the British Museum*, p. 72.

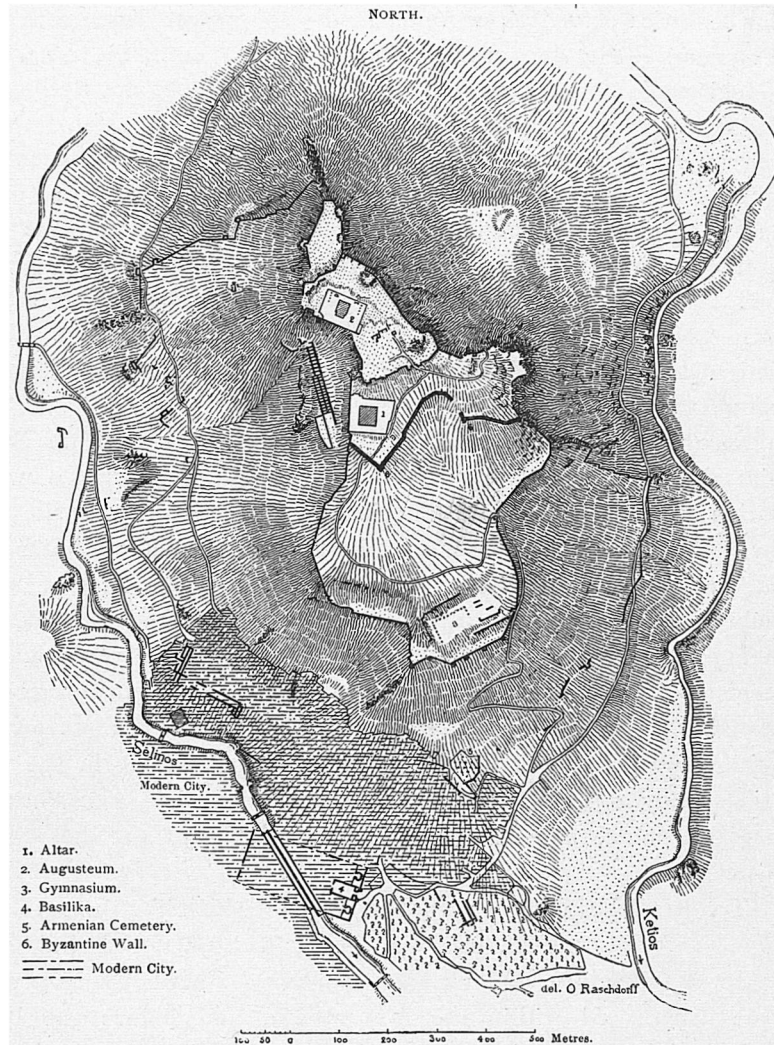
<sup>2</sup> *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, Vol. II.

Between the visit of Choiseul-Gouffier, referred to above, and the year 1864-65, the ruins of Pergamon were left undisturbed, save by the ignorant vandals, who used marble fragments for building purposes, or burned them to make mortar. Little known even to scholars, it was natural that archæologists and explorers should turn their attention to the sites of ancient cities in Greece, rather than to those of Asia Minor, and that among the latter they should have preferred to search at Halikarnassos and Ephesos for such world-renowned buildings as the Mausoleum and the temple of Diana, rather than at Pergamon for the great altar of Attalos, curtly mentioned by Pausanias as like that of Zeus at Olympia,<sup>1</sup> and but briefly described by Ampelius, a Roman author who flourished in the second century of our era.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it happened that Pergamon was well-nigh forgotten until Carl Humann, to whom the world is indebted for the discovery of its marble treasures, visited it several times between 1861 and 1869 for professional purposes, and not at first with any intent to excavate. On his first visit, he was much impressed with the abundance of sculptured capitals, bases, and other architectural remains, overgrown with wild fig-trees and creeping plants, lying about the site of the temple of Athena Polias, and with a sad heart observed the encroachments of the lime-burners upon these neglected treasures; but it was not until 1869, after he had concluded a contract with the Turkish government for the construction of roads about the city, that he established his head-quarters there, began to form a collection of terra-cotta figures, and seriously considered the possibility of obtaining permission to excavate upon the Akropolis. Two years later he met Dr. Curtius at Constantinople, and persuaded him and his companions, Drs. Adler and Gelzer, to visit Pergamon under his guidance. A map of the city was then made, the temple of Asklepios, about ten miles distant from it, was identified, and two bas-reliefs built into a Byzantine wall constructed across the Akropolis were rescued from their ignominious position.

"Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,  
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away,"

and so may works of art be turned to vile purposes, like these Gigantomachia reliefs, which had



AKROPOLIS OF PERGAMON..

ACCORDING TO THE PLAN DRAWN BY CARL HUMANN IN 1879.

From "Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen."

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, V. 13. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ampelius, *Miracula Mundi*, 14, *Liber Memorialis*. "Pergamus ara marmorea magna, alta pedes quadraginta, cum maximis sculpturis; continet autem Gigantomachiam."

for centuries served as common stones to protect degenerate Greeks against hostile forces. Both fragments—the one representing a dying youth, the other a giant protecting his body by a shield against the club of Herakles—were sent to Berlin, and a strong effort was made to induce the authorities of the Museum to obtain a firman from the Turkish government authorizing further excavations; but public attention was then concentrated on Olympia, and the German government was unwilling to undertake another enterprise of the same sort elsewhere. At last, in 1878, it entered upon the necessary negotiations with the Turkish authorities, and concluded a treaty, giving the right to excavate at Pergamon during a year on the usual terms, by which one third of the objects found was to become the property of the finder; one third, of the owner of the ground; and one third, of the government. This treaty was afterwards so modified as to give two thirds to the Germans, and the right to continue their excavations during a second year.

In the month of September, Carl Humann came from Smyrna to Pergamon, bringing with him all the necessary implements and a number of skilled workmen, and, after a careful examination of the ground with the view of determining the site of the great altar, selected a spot for excavation about forty feet below the summit of the Akropolis. In this, as events proved, he showed singular judgment. Other explorers, ancient and modern, when on the eve of embarking in an important enterprise, have invoked the blessing of Heaven upon their undertaking; but Carl Humann, who, whatever faith he may have had in a protecting providence, seems to have had still more in his Crown Prince, inaugurated his work "in the name of the protector of the Royal Museum, of the most fortunate and best beloved man, the never vanquished warrior, the heir of the most splendid throne in the world,—in the name of our Crown Prince, may this work be fortunate and blessed." The workmen supposed these words to be a magic formula, and "in this supposition," says the hero-worshipper, "they were not greatly mistaken."

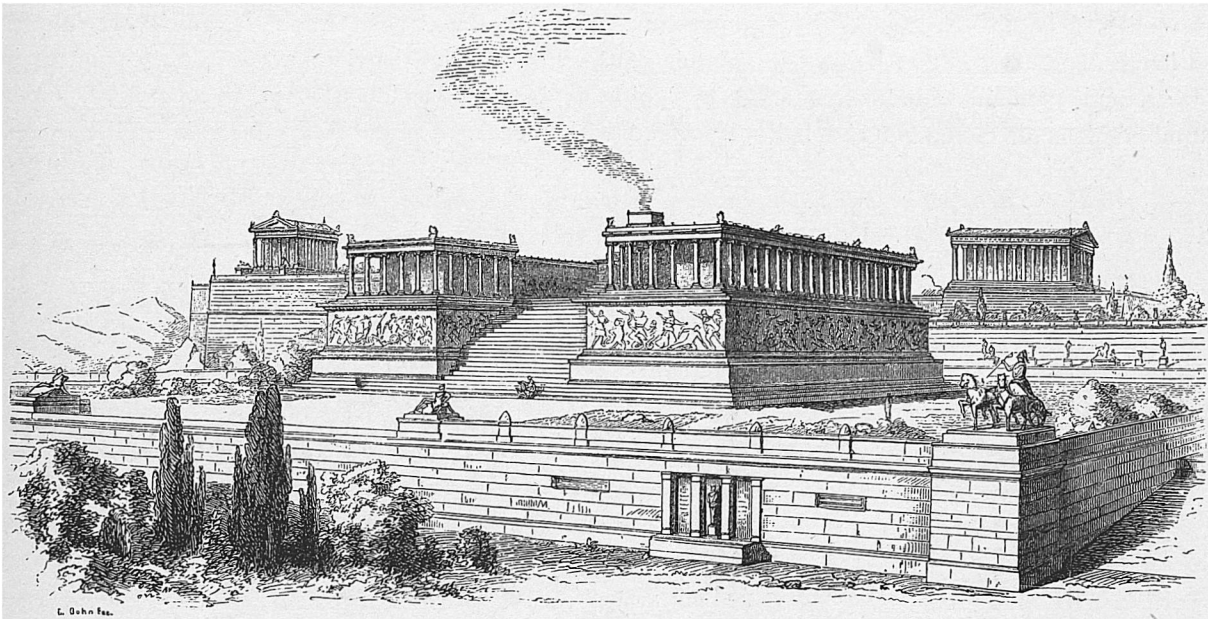
To break down the Byzantine wall in which the first reliefs had been discovered, with the hope of finding others, used as they had been for building material, was obviously the wisest mode of procedure, and its adoption was followed by immediate success. Twenty-seven reliefs were disengaged within the first month, and before the beginning of the new year sixteen more had been added to them. These, with eight hundred fragments, ten statues, thirty inscriptions, and a great deal of architectural material, were safely conveyed on sleds from the top of the Akropolis to the valley, over a road specially constructed for this purpose. Arrived at Dikeli, they were shipped for Berlin via Smyrna and Trieste.

The excavations were then pushed rapidly forward with a largely increased working force, and at the end of May, after the wall had been still further broken away, and the foundations of the altar laid bare, 66 of the Gigantomachia reliefs had been discovered, together with 13 of the Telephos reliefs, 37 statues, bases, and horses, 67 inscriptions, and numberless fragments of every kind.

The same wonderful success continued to reward the excavators during the summer and winter of 1879 and in the early part of 1880, as the reader may judge by the fact that the last cases which reached Berlin on the 2d of June brought the whole number of marbles recovered up to a total of 359; namely, 94 Gigantomachia reliefs, 35 Telephos reliefs, 100 fragments, and 130 inscriptions, statues, busts, bases, and horses. So great a result, attained within sixteen months, including many unavoidable interruptions, such as the making of a road, and the preparation of sledges, cases, etc., is, we believe, unrivalled in the history of excavations.

The extremely uneven surface of the Akropolis (see the plan) had made it necessary to raise all the buildings upon terraces of masonry. These were in some instances of great extent. The great altar, for example, covered a space of 34.60 metres in length, and 37.70 in breadth. Its foundations, which form a network of squares constructed of unhewn blocks of stone filled in with stones and earth, were covered with marble blocks, fragments of columns, statues, and

architectural members of all kinds belonging to the building, while other fragments were found built into the Byzantine wall, or lying on the side of the mountain where they had been hurled by its defenders against attacking foes. The altar stood in a cella, surrounded by an Ionic peristyle. It was a temple-like edifice, approached by three steps, each 23 centimetres in height and 40 wide, resting on a very high base or stylobate, whose sides were decorated with colossal reliefs representing the Battle between the Gods and Giants, formed of slabs 2.30 metres high and 0.50 thick, overshadowed by a richly sculptured and widely projecting cornice. The names of the gods who took part in the combat, and those of their adversaries, the giants, were inscribed in letters of bronze above and below the slabs, together with the name of the artist, now unfortunately so nearly obliterated as to be quite illegible. We know the chief sculptors of the school of Pergamon,—Isigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, who represented in marble the battles of Attalos and Eumenes with the Gauls,<sup>1</sup>—but even with this help cannot recognize the worn-out letters which would perhaps have identified one of them as the sculptor of these masterly works.



THE GREAT ALTAR AND OTHER BUILDINGS AT PERGAMON.

RECONSTRUCTED BY R. BOHN.

From "Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen."

In the *Fahrbuch* article, by Richard Bohn, upon the site and construction of the great altar, he speaks of the difficulty of reconstructing it, because the edifice is wanting in that strict cohesion of parts which is found in Greek buildings of an earlier time; but, he adds, the task is facilitated by alphabetic marks upon the architectural members. These consist of single or double Greek letters; as, for example, Alpha, Beta, etc. upon the marbles belonging to one course, and Alpha Beta, Alpha Gamma, etc. upon those of the next series. The altar proper, which, if we are to credit Pausanias, was made of the ashes of sacrificed victims, like that of Zeus at Olympia, had a marble parapet around its base, sculptured with reliefs representing the history of Telephos, son of Herakles, the mythic founder of the city. Many of them have been recovered, together with a number of Ionic capitals and bases belonging to the peristyle, which in delicacy and technical perfection are said to equal those of the Propylaion and of the temple of Nike Apteros at Athens.

Next to the great altar, the most important building at Pergamon was the Augusteum, or temple of Augustus. It was of the Corinthian order, and, in architectural language, peripteral

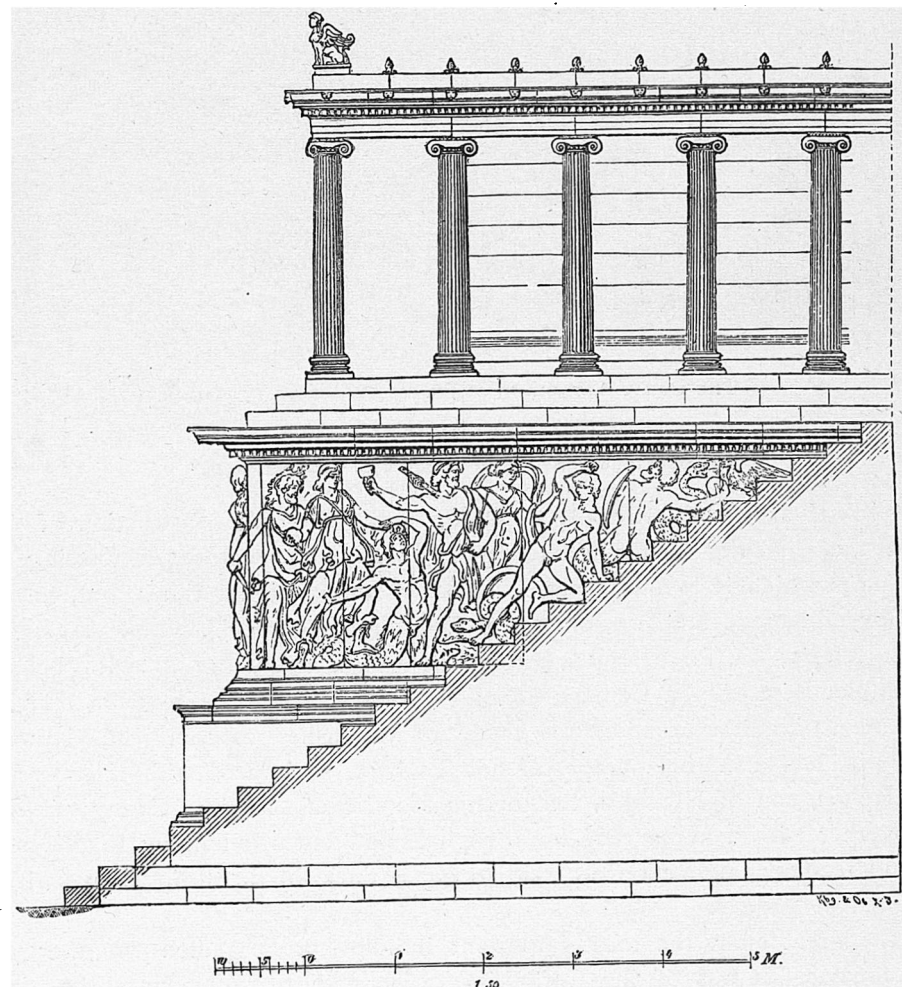
<sup>1</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV. 84.



hexastyle; that is, the cella was surrounded by columns, six at the pronaos, and a like number at the posticum, and nine on either side of the edifice. These columns, with twenty-four flutings and richly adorned capitals and bases, are 1.10 metres in diameter, and 9.80 metres in height. That the temple was not hypæthral, but entirely roofed over, is proved, according to Stiller, by the holes in which the roof beams were inserted between unworked stones. Its entrance was to the east. The court on the west contained a very elegant exedra of white marble (see p. 145) built by King Attalos II., semicircular in shape, and raised on three steps. The top of the low wall which described the arc was decorated with bronze statues, all of which have perished. Heads of Trajan and Hadrian, and fragments of colossal marble statues, were found under the cella of the temple, which in all probability was destroyed by an earthquake at some unknown period. This "Templum Augusti et Urbis Romæ," the so-called Sebasteion, is represented upon the coins of Pergamon. These alone preserve the record of its appearance.

The remaining buildings whose sites have been identified at Pergamon are the Amphitheatre, which stood on the northwest spur of the Akropolis; the temple of Asklepios, distant about two miles from the city; and the Gymnasium. The latter was built upon a terrace 250 metres in length, some forty feet below the summit of the hill. It consisted of a court, 74.30 metres in length and 35.60 in width, surrounded by columns between which statues were placed, and a number of small chambers and halls decorated with niches.

CHARLES C. PERKINS.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH THE STEPS OF THE ALTAR.